

Message Text

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SUBJECT: AMBASSADOR JOHNSON' S STATEMENT OF APRIL 10, 1973

THE FOLLOWING IS STATEMENT DELIVERED BY AMBASSADOR JOHNSON AT
THE APRIL 10, 1973 SALT MEETING.

STATEMENT BY AMBASSADOR JOHNSON

APRIL 10, 1973

MR. MINISTER,

I.

IN THESE MEETINGS I HAVE PRESENTED AND PROVIDED EXTENSIVE SUPPORT
FOR THE US VIEW THAT A MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE PERMANENT AGREEMENT
LIMITING STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS TO REPLACE THE TEMPORARY
INTERIM AGREEMENT MUST PROVIDE FOR ESSENTIAL EQUIVALENCE FOR
THE TWO SIDES IN THE CENTRAL STRATEGIC SYSTEMS. TODAY I WANT
TO REFER TO THE ABM TREATY WHICH WAS CAREFULLY NEGOTIATED BE-
TWEEN OUR TWO DELEGATIONS IN THE FIRST PHASE OF THESE TALKS,
WAS SIGNED BY THE LEADERS OF OUR TWO GOVERNMENTS IN MOSCOW
LAST MAY, AND HAS NOW ENTERED INTO FORCE. THIS TREATY PROVIDES
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FOR EQUAL LIMITATIONS ON ALL THE MAJOR ASPECTS OF ABM SYSTEMS. WE BELIEVE THE ABM TREATY, WHICH IS OF UNLIMITED DURATION, SETS A STANDARD FOR A PERMANENT STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATION AGREEMENT, A STANDARD WHICH MUST BE MET BY THE PERMANENT AGREEMENT LIMITING STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS TO REPLACE THE INTERIM AGREEMENT.

THE ABM TREATY PROVIDES FOR AN EQUAL NUMBER OF ABM SYSTEM DEPLOYMENT AREAS. IT SETS EQUAL LIMITS ON THE NUMBER OF ABM LAUNCHERS AND ABM INTERCEPTORS WHICH CAN BE DEPLOYED AT LAUNCH SITES, EQUAL LIMITS ON THE NUMBER OF ABM RADAR COMPLEXES, AND EQUAL LIMITS ON CERTAIN OTHER CHARACTERISTICS OF ABM SYSTEMS. THE TREATY THUS SETS LIMITS WHICH ARE EQUAL FOR THE TWO SIDES ON ALL THE SIGNIFICANT PARAMETERS OF ABM SYSTEMS, AND THUS CLEARLY MEETS THE PRINCIPLES OF EQUAL SECURITY AND NO UNILATERAL ADVANTAGE.

THE ABM TREATY HAS BEEN WIDELY ACCEPTED, AND INDEED APPLAUDED, IN BOTH OUR COUNTRIES, AS A MAJOR STEP IN REDUCING THE STRATEGIC ARMS COMPETITION. THE TREATY WAS RATIFIED BY THE UNITED STATES SENATE WITH ONLY TWO DISSENTING VOTES, AND UNPRECEDENTED LEVEL OF SUPPORT FOR A MAJOR ARMS LIMITATION AGREEMENT. I BELIEVE THE TREATY HAS ENJOYED AN EQUALLY FAVORABLE RECEPTION IN YOUR COUNTRY AS WELL. THIS WIDE ACCEPTANCE OF THE ABM TREATY AS AN EQUITABLE AGREEMENT IS DUE TO ITS ADHERENCE TO THE GENERAL PRINCIPLE OF EQUALITY.

MR. MINISTER, YOU WILL RECALL THAT IN NEGOTIATING THE ABM TREATY BOTH SIDES AGREED THAT THE NUMBER OF ABM DEPLOYMENT AREAS AND THE NUMBER OF ABM LAUNCHERS AND INTERCEPTORS AND RADAR COMPLEXES BE PRECISELY EQUAL. THUS THE ABM TREATY PROVIDED FOR EQUALITY IN THE STRICTEST SENSE. FOR A PERMANENT AGREEMENT LIMITING STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS, THE PROBLEM IS MORE COMPLEX AND IT HAS BEEN THE VIEW OF BOTH SIDES THAT PRECISELY EQUAL NUMBERS IN EACH TYPE OF STRATEGIC WEAPON SYSTEM ARE NOT NECESSARY OR DESIRABLE. HOWEVER, ESSENTIAL EQUIVALENCE IN CENTRAL STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE SYSTEMS MUST BE ASSURED. WE HAVE PROPOSED THAT EQUIVALENCE BE ASSURED THROUGH EQUAL CEILINGS WITH APPROPRIATE PROVISIONS FOR FREEDOM- TO- MIX WITHIN THESE CEILINGS. THERE CANNOT BE ONE STANDARD FOR THE ABM TREATY AND AN ENTIRELY DIFFERENT ONE FOR THE PERMANENT AGREEMENT LIMITING STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS. THE PERMANENT AGREEMENT REPLACING THE
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INTERIM AGREEMENT MUST PROVIDE FOR ESSENTIAL EQUIVALENCE IN THE

CENTRAL STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE SYSTEMS.

YOU HAVE RAISED ISSUE OF LIMITATIONS ON NON- CENTRAL SYSTEMS. THE EFFECT OF NON- CENTRAL SYSTEMS ON THE STRATEGIC BALANCE IS NOT COMPARABLE IN KIND OR MAGNITUDE TO THE EFFECT OF THE CENTRAL SYSTEMS. FURTHERMORE, THE ASYMMETRIES IN NON- CENTRAL SYSTEMS DO NOT FAVOR THE US.

I MUST MAKE IT CLEAR THAT, IN THE ABSENCE OF ESSENTIAL EQUIVALENCE IN CENTRAL STRATEGIC SYSTEMS RESULTING IN A SITUATION OF UNILATERAL ADVANTAGE FOR THE SOVIET UNION, I DO NOT SEE THE POSSIBILITY OF REACHING A MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE PERMANENT AGREEMENT.

II.

THREE MAJOR PARAMETERS GOVERNING THE STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE FORCE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES ARE, AND WILL CONTINUE TO BE, (1) THE AGGREGATE NUMBER OF ICBM AND SLBM LAUNCHERS AND HEAVY BOMBERS, (2) THE NUMBER OF ICBM LAUNCHERS, AND (3) THE THROW- WEIGHT OF THE ICBM FORCES ON EACH SIDE. THE PRINCIPLES OF EQUAL SECURITY AND NO UNILATERAL ADVANTAGE REQUIRE THAT LIMITS, OR CEILINGS, ON THESE IMPORTANT MEASURES OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE CAPABILITY BE EQUAL FOR THE TWO SIDES. THE US HAS PROPOSED THAT THERE BE EQUAL CEILINGS FOR BOTH SIDES IN EACH OF THESE THREE KEY AREAS.

THE PRINCIPLE

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